10. Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

animals. I want to help you; but you must speak our language.' Since the boy grew up in the cacique's family, he spoke perfect Araucanian. Later he found out who his own parents were, but he never went back to his family." The informant then told of Araucanians who were taken captive by Argentines and reared by them: "They learned perfect Spanish. My husband's two sisters were kidnaped by Whites when very small, and taken to Buenos Aires where they still live. They, too, do not want to return here to their people."

Another method by which the Araucanians learned Spanish was told by a woman who had heard old men tell about it: "When the Argentines came here and took over our land not one of our people knew enough Spanish words to talk with them. So they taught our people to speak Spanish. The commander of the army made our people stand in a row. Then he ordered one person after the other, down the row, to repeat Spanish words and sentences after him." She indicated individuals standing in a row and pointing a finger at each one successively said: 'You, you, say Buenos Dias!' 'You, next one, say Buenos tardes.' 'You, next one, say Buenas noches, my commander!' Our people could not pronounce the words as he did, although they tried hard enough. So the commander made them repeat and repeat and repeat the words. And that is how our people learned Spanish. Our people did not mind too much having to learn the Spanish language, but they resented it when they were made to march before the officers and speak Spanish words. The women were obliged to wear their chamall (homespun clothes) and silver ornaments and their ojotas (footwear). Our people have disliked the Whites ever since for this." She halted a moment and added, "But they say they came to civilize us. In due time Araucanian men were drafted into Argentine military service where they learned to speak Spanish well. Upon their return home they taught it to others, especially to their children."

Informants were not aware of differences in their language as spoken by women and as spoken by men—something a non-Araucanian who had lived among Araucanians for many years was certain existed—unless variations such as the following were meant: A man addresses his father as chao; his mother as fuke; his brother and sister each as pille; a woman does not use these words when addressing the same persons. A man speaks of his son as fot'un, and his daughter as fiawe; a woman speaks of both as pulleli.

The Araucanians had no written language. Pictographs found in many places formerly occupied by Araucanians are not Araucanian, it appears. Salas, who had studied the pictographs in many places,

10: Hilger E-5 (1966-1952) 1957
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She explained, "We sang the same to such persons as he came up on his horse, such as 'There comes my aunt!' 'There comes my father!' 'They come to see us. How happy we are! How overjoyed I am!' After all had been welcomed in this manner, we said, in a still higher voice, 'Chachai, Chachai, Chachai, Eiai, Chachai.' [These were endearing expressions and were used also by small children toward parents.] Then the relatives answered, also in a high voice and also sitting on their haunches, 'We have come from afar to see you. We have come from afar to see you.' Formerly our people raised their voices when they were jubilant; today everything is said in a monotone [she reiterated it]. We all embraced each other, shook hands, and kissed each other on the cheek—not as the mouth like they do today. This is what we did for our relatives."

Mother-in-law–son-in-law taboos were [illegible]. "A man respected his mother-in-law. He could be in the same room with her, just like all other persons may be, but neither one was to look at the other." A woman older than a hundred years had seen a blanket hung up between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law, "so they could not look at each other." If a mother-in-law and son-in-law met, each looked in the opposite direction. Kelequen, when asked the reason for this taboo, laughed heartily and said, "Just because it was a custom; for no other reason whatsoever." A man spoke to his mother-in-law only when he had a matter of importance to communicate and found no one but his mother-in-law to tell it to. "He will then say to her, 'Good afternoon. May I come in?' She will say, 'Why have you come, my son?'—Son, here, is pifion.—He then tells her what he had intended to say to someone else not found in the place, and departs."

No father-in-law–daughter-in-law or mother-in-law–daughter-in-law taboos existed. Quoting a woman in her eighties: "After marriage the woman went with the man to the home of his parents. It would certainly have been an awkward situation if she could not have talked to and been friendly with her father-in-law, living in the same house with him! She not only spoke to her father-in-law but tried in every way to please him. She acted in the same friendly and helpful manner toward her mother-in-law. It is not that way today; it is all turned around today."

In all probability joking relationships were not institutional.

RELIGION AND SUPERNATURAL POWERS

THE SUPREME BEING AND HIS AIDES, SACRED TOPONYMS

The idea of God as creator is expressed as Ixta chau or my chau; as one interested in the welfare of the people, as guardian; at the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilaterality. 613 582

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage. 613 582 754 [609]

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[9]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage. 613 583

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives 554 602 613 583 571

[9] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *waltekun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *waltekun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship. [195] [601]

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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794 178 reservation system. It manifests a localism absent in prereservation days. It reflects a change in the structure of the ritual congregation and the relationship between ritual participation and the system of matrilateral marriage. Notions of morality have not themselves changed markedly, but larger and more heterogeneous groups have become integrated into what is today a more extensive moral community. These constitute the ritual congregations.

775 795 177 There are several, rather ill-defined locations considered as the resting places of the dead. Undoubtedly, there has been some Christian influence in regard to the designation and description of these places. For example, *kutralmapu*, literally "fireland" (*tierra del fuego*) is sometimes said to be the place first visited by the dead, on their journey to *nomelafken* or *wenumapu* (traditional resting places of the dead). But so many Mapuche are quite obviously uncertain about the nature of *kutralmapu* that it emerges as an alien construct with relation to their other beliefs. Most Mapuche have heard of Heaven, Hell, Sin, Satan, Eternal Damnation, Eternal Reward, etc., but there are only a handful who have even an acceptable notion of what these concepts mean to the Christians who spread such words among them. These words, then, seem to be no more than words expressive of concepts which are foreign to the Mapuche but which are employed under certain conditions to translate Mapuche beliefs into Chilean vernacular.

775 192 195 [764] [765] *Nomelafken*, or *wenumapu* (used mostly in the eastern sector of Mapucheland), is the final resting place of the dead. Upon death, the term for soul (*am*) is dropped and either *pellu* or *alwe* is used. *Pellu* is generally used in association with the spirit during the period between physical demise and burial in the cemetery, during the wake, the removal of the corpse to its place of exhibition (temporary burial), and the four days after final (secondary) interment. After final burial, if the people are satisfied that the spirit has begun its journey to the resting place of the dead, the term for soul might change to *alwe* (wandering spirit). When a great measure of finality is noted, further terminological change takes place, and the departed spirit is subsumed within the collective *pu am*, *pu laku*, or the even more generalized *kuifiche*. There it should remain. These terminologi-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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cal modifications occur automatically with the context of the conversation about death, burial preparations, and the conclusion of the funeral ceremony.

Spirits who, through supernatural signs, are believed to linger about the house after death (of the body) are dealt with in the ceremony called *amulpellen*, which may be translated roughly as "Go, thee, spirit!" This ceremony is designed to drive them away from the precincts of the living. They are potentially dangerous because at this time they might fall victim to *kalku*. This is a period of great uneasiness for the living, who are responsible for the proper treatment of the dead and desirous that the spirit depart. Since the time factor involved in proper care of the dead makes immediate departure impossible, the mourners are always in a state of uncertainty and fear at this time. If indications of the presence of the spirit do not persist past the time of final interment, it is assumed that they have made the regular journey to the other world. Once safely there, the terms used to refer to them or to supplicate them are those employed for all ancestors, indicating that the living have no special concern with their recently departed kinsmen. In all cases, there are terminological changes which correlate with the changes in the status of the dead. When the living refer to the dead as *pu am*, *pu laku*, etc., these terms symbolize a sense of security, a feeling that the funeral ceremony has been successfully enacted and that the dead have passed from the dangerous state of the recently departed.

The afterworld is a shadow world in the sense that spirits are conceived as misty beings, and their habitat as somewhat nebulous. Although this, again, might reflect Christian influence, the basic concept of life-after-death was recorded as an aboriginal trait by the earliest chroniclers. Ancestral spirits enjoy an easy and abundant life after death, but not one of complete leisure. They perform the same kinds of tasks as the living, but do not have to work as hard or as long. And their work is always successful, their rewards greater. There is always enough food of the best kind (meat and wheat bread), ample shelter, fine traditional clothing, and many other things Mapuche desire in life. In the afterworld the ancestors live the traditional life. They do battle, for example, against the Spaniards and Chilcans.